

the indypendent

new york city independent media center special edition issue 26 February 15, 2003

FREE



Need we say more?



PHOTOS BY RAVEN

February 15, 2003: New Yorkers join the world in saying no to war



Q: What costs \$9,736?
a) 1 second of war in Iraq.
b) Annual NYC education budget per child.
The Cost of War PAGE 5
A: One or the other.





new york city independent media center

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What is the IMC?

With autonomous chapters in more than 100 cities throughout the world, the three-year-old Independent Media Center has become an international network of volunteer media activists.

The IMC seeks to create a new media ethic by providing progressive, in-depth and accurate coverage of issues. We are a community-based organization using media to facilitate political and cultural self-representation. We seek to illuminate and analyze issues impacting individuals, communities and eco-systems by providing media tools and space to those seeking to communicate.

Unlike corporate media, we espouse open dialogue, and the importance of placing the means of communication and creativity back in the hands of the people, away from the drive of profit.

The *Indy* is funded by benefits, subscriptions, donations, grants, and ads from organizations and individuals with similar missions. All reporting is done by NYC IMC volunteers unless otherwise noted.

What can I do to get involved?
The IMC has an open door. You can write for the *Indy*, film events and rallies, self-publish articles to the web, take photos or just help us run the office. As an organization relying entirely on volunteer support, we encourage all forms of participation.

The print team reserves the right to edit articles for length, content and clarity. We welcome your participation in the entire editorial process.

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• SPECIAL COVERAGE •

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Police and military choose sides in Bolivia turmoil

Bolivia erupted on Feb. 12, when police and army soldiers fired on one another in La Paz's main square and thousands of people filled the streets in opposition to President Sánchez de Lozada's imposition of an IMF-mandated income tax. Though the president, known as "Goni," quickly repealed the tax and called for the retreat of the army, the conflict continued.

These events built on the violence simmering in rural areas, where peasant coca

farmers have organized numerous road blockades in response to the government's refusal to negotiate with them despite their candidate, Evo Morales, nearly winning last summer's presidential election. The government responded to the blockades with violence, killing 18.

The tax had brought Bolivia's middle class into the conflict with the government in a country with a huge but disenfranchised indigenous majority. Before the

shooting in La Paz started, protesters were shouting at the military trying to convince them to change sides and join the struggle to take down the government.

"Look at the names," they said, reading the names from the soldiers' uniforms. "They are called Quispe, Mamani. We are brothers: Quechua, Aymaras! Turn around and shoot the gringo Goni."

With police on their side, protesters are demanding the resignation of the president.



PHOTO: SEBASTIAN HACHER / PABLO INDIO / BOLIVIA INDYMEDIA

528 cities and counting... a global day of protest

BY JOSHUA BREITBART

As soon as United For Peace & Justice put Islamabad on its list of cities hosting protests on February 15, they got a complaint from a Pakistani-American. Why did you list Islamabad, but not the 40 other cities in Pakistan with demonstrations planned, he wanted to know.

Even without those, the list, with over 500 entries, shows that the movement against a U.S.-led war has tremendous international and cultural breadth. From Manila to Moscow to Madrid to McMurdo Station in Antarctica, people are building alliances with their neighbors based on a shared rejection of U.S. military aggression.

As much as the sheer numbers of people planning to take action shows the depth of the movement, acting on the same day shows a communal awareness. Feb. 15 could be the largest day of protest in history.

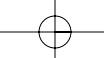
This growing international movement against the United States is not limited to antiwar demonstrations. Many democracies around the world that have held elections recently have chosen leaders on the basis of their stances against U.S. foreign policy. In South Korea, popular sentiment against the presence of 37,000 US troops brought a conciliatory human rights campaigner to power and is shaping the international response to North Korea's recent maneuvers.

In Germany, Gerhard Schroeder recently won re-election denouncing a possible U.S.-led attack on Iraq as a "military adventure."

Throughout South America, most notably in Venezuela and Ecuador, people are using democratic institutions to combat U.S. policies. In Brazil, whatever Lula may do now, he was clearly put in power by people who oppose the Free Trade Area of the Americas agreement and the spread of globalization. In Bolivia and Argentina, as in the United States, the democratic institutions have not accounted for sizeable or majority oppositions, so the people have taken to the streets.

BELOW: Coalition group United for Peace & Justice prepares for February 15. PHOTOS: RAVEN





NYC post-9/11: A protest-free zone?

BY CHRIS ANDERSON

The often-contentious relationship between political protest and freedom of speech had another blowout battle on February 10, when Federal Judge Barbara Jones denied anti-war organizers a permit to march on February 15. The ruling marks yet another escalation in the government's attempts to use a perpetual "state of emergency" brought about by America's open-ended 'War on Terror' to curtail political dissent.

In a 26-page ruling, Jones explicitly noted that America and New York City had entered a "time of heightened security," and used the hypothetical threat of terrorism as justification for her decision to uphold the City's denial of a march permit. Jones wrote, "The court finds that the heightened security concerns posed by an unorganized large-scale march threatens the city's interest in maintaining the public safety." An appeals court on Feb. 12 backed Jones' decision noting the country was "in a time of war."

Local activists should take note of the events surrounding the United for Peace and Justice (UFP&J) lawsuit. New York City may already have secretly become a 'protest free zone.' In a remarkable Newsday column on February 10, Leonard Levitt wrote, "Deputy

MONDAY: Natalie Krombach-Williams, a retired Manhattan nurse, was among six New York activists arrested Feb. 11 for blocking traffic for 50 minutes into the Holland Tunnel. At 8:15 a.m. the six sat down across the roadway and interlocked their arms in 'lock-boxes.' Nearby a banner read: "War With Iraq Will Not Make Us Safe." They were arrested and charged with criminal trespassing and disorderly conduct. PHOTO: FRED ASKEW

Commissioner Michael O'Looney confirmed, when questioned by Newsday, that without announcement or explanation, the Police Department since the fall of 2002 has been denying all permits for protest marches in Manhattan."

According to protest organizers, police have taken further steps to diminish the size of the February 15 protest: Police called and questioned out-of-town organizers whose numbers appeared on the United for Peace & Justice site. And police barred organizers from placing port-a-potties at the rally.

An honest guide to the city's motives in the denial of a march permit can be found in the pages of its conservative press. On February 6, *The New York Sun* saluted Mayor Bloomberg and Police Commissioner Kelly for "doing the people of New York and the people of Iraq a great service by delaying and obstructing the anti-war protest planned for February 15." The Sun went on to argue that "the longer they delay in granting the protesters a permit, the less time the organizers have to get their turnout organized, and the smaller the crowd is likely to be. And we wouldn't want to overstate the matter, but, at some level, the smaller the crowd, the more likely that President Bush will proceed with his plans to liberate Iraq." Indeed, the original court filings by UFP&J attor-

neys show that the city obfuscated and delayed for almost two weeks before officially denying anti-war organizers permit to march.

South African Bishop Desmond Tutu, a scheduled speaker at the February 15 anti-war rally, expressed his shock, stating that recent events in the U.S. had taken him back to his days under Apartheid. "I really cannot believe that the major city in the major democracy in the world has denied its citizens this right," he said in a conference call with protest organizers. "On February 15, you are probably going to be the only city in the entire world that is forbidden to express its dissent to what is going on in the Middle East."

The ramifications of Judge Jones' ruling, both for the February 15 event itself and in the long term, remain unclear. There is a strong possibility that the New York City administration may have turned what was planned to be an organized and peaceful march and rally into a chaotic free-for-all. Some protesters may make the choice to risk arrest and try to march anyway; others may decide to remain huddled in their protest pens; and many may choose to simply stay home in dismay. What seems certain, though, is that the bar for permitting post-September 11 dissent has been raised. Yet again.



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The war is on us.

As war looms over Iraq, another is already



LISTEN UP: Yvonne, a student activist at Hunter College, addresses a crowd of students gathered on Feb. 11 to hear about the proposed \$1200 tuition hike for all City University colleges. Later about 100 Hunter College students took over the office of the college president, and 18 students spent the night there demanding she take a stand against the war and the tuition hike. PHOTO: ALIYAH KHAN

Patriot Act II: Ashcroft vs. the Constitution

BY MIKE BURKE

American citizens could soon be stripped of their citizenship and expatriated for providing any support for an organization that

Cracking down on dissent. the government considers to be a terrorist group.

Secret detention of terror suspects would become the rule of the land as the Justice Department wants to bar the release of all information on detainees and to prohibit media organizations from reporting on it.

Municipal and state regulations curtailing police spying would be thrown out.

A massive DNA database will be created not just for convicted criminals but for mere suspects.

Welcome to Attorney General John Ashcroft's Patriot Act Part II, the secret sequel which manages to gut the constitution even more than the original.

The Justice Department has been secretly drafting the sweeping legislation for months. But on Feb. 9, the Center for Public Integrity published leaked copies of a draft of the Domestic Security Enhancement Act of 2003 (DSEA) on its website detailing Ashcroft's vision for America.

Congressman Jerrold Nadler of New York, whose district includes the World Trade Center, said this proposed expansion of the Patriot Act amounts to "little more than the institution of a police state."

The San Francisco Chronicle editorialized, "Secret arrests? Expatriation because you belong to a suspicious political group? Unchecked surveillance? These are instruments of repression, used by totalitarian states."

Gregory Nojeim, the associate director of the American Civil Liberties Union said: "The initial Patriot Act undercut many of the checks and balances on government power — the new proposal threatens to fundamentally alter the constitutional protections that allow us to be both safe and free."

And Georgetown Law Professor David Cole said it was disturbing that there have been no consultations with Congress on the draft legislation. "It raises a lot of serious concerns and is troubling as a generic matter that they have gotten this far along and tell people that there is nothing in the works. What that suggests is that they're waiting for a propitious time to introduce it, which might well be when a war is begun."

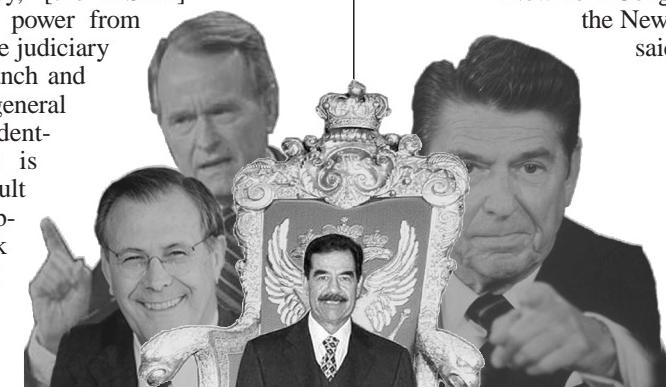
On the same day the Center for Public Integrity leaked the documents, the Department of Homeland Security, for the first time, upped the national threat level from yellow (elevated risk) to orange (high). The color change gained headline news and round-the-clock coverage on television; the further dismantling of the Constitution was a mere footnote in the day's news.

While individual civil liberties would be curtailed under the proposed legislation, private corporations would stand to

benefit. One provision would classify corporate reports that details risks posed by accidents at industrial facilities. Other provisions include:

- Prosecutors would be able to serve secret subpoenas. People would be jailed if they did not provide the evidence, testify or if they disclosed to anyone but a lawyer that they had been subpoenaed.
- The Justice Department could begin conducting wiretaps on suspects for up to 15 days, without a court order, during times of declared emergencies.
- And for up to 48 hours, the FBI and state police could monitor a suspect's web usage, email and instant messages, without a court order, if the government feels they may be involved in "activities threatening the national security interest."

Marc Rotenberg, director of the Electronic Privacy Information Center, concludes: "This is breathtakingly bad. Apart from the dramatic expansion of government surveillance authority and government secrecy, [the DSEA] transfers enormous power from the Congress and the judiciary to the executive branch and gives the attorney general absolutely unprecedented authority. This is more than an assault on constitutional liberty — it is an attack on the constitutional system of checks and balances."



BY FRIDA BERRIGAN

In a recent speech, Ohio Representative Dennis Kucinich asked, "Why does America have

Paying the price for war.

hundreds of billions to ruin the health and take the lives of innocent people in Iraq but no money to provide health care for all Americans? Why would America spend hundreds of billions to retire Saddam Hussein, but no money to protect the retirement security of its own people?" The citizens of New York City should be asking the same questions.

New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg presented the city's budget in January with a \$3 billion budget gap for the next fiscal year. To deal with this shortfall, he is calling for major belt tightening, saying that the budget shortfalls are forcing "hardworking people to dig deeper into their pockets." While Bloomberg succumbs to cheap rhetoric about sacrifices, one American institution is not tightening its belt or digging deep into its pockets: The Pentagon.

This year President Bush will ask Congress to pass an almost \$400 billion military budget, a figure six times larger than what Russia — the world's next biggest military power — spends. The U.S. spends 26 times more than all of

Saddam

BY MIKE BURKE

"The Bush administration [has] sent U.S. technology to the Iraqi military and to many Iraqi military factories, despite overwhelming evidence showing that Iraq intended to use the technology in its clandestine nuclear, chemical, biological, and long-range missile programs."

No this is not pulled from a conspiracy-minded website but the Congressional Record from July 27, 1992. They are the words of the late Congressman Henry Gonzalez of Texas.

For months in the early 1990s Gonzalez released hundreds of documents that outlined how the highest levels of the U.S. government — including Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush and current Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld — had secretly and illegally helped arm Saddam Hussein. The scandal was known as Iraqgate.

In 1991, Charles Schumer, then a New York Congressman, now the New York Senator, said Hussein was Bush's Frankenstein: "He had been created in the White House laboratory with a collection of government programs,

being fought at home

our "enemies" combined: Iraq, Iran, Cuba, Libya, North Korea, Sudan and Syria.

Even before the costs of war against Iraq are added in, the United States spends more than one billion dollars a day on the military, while a whole spectrum of domestic needs are severely under-funded. In New York State, 19 percent of children live in poverty, 15 percent of citizens live without health care and 42 percent of tenants spend more than 30 percent of their income on rent. A recent article in *The New York Times* reports that companies in New York City have eliminated 175,000 jobs in the last two years. And the future does not look bright. Experts who write for *New York STAT*, a newsletter on the city economy, advise business leaders that "with the war in Iraq looming, along with the spike in oil prices, businesses should continue to put off hiring."

To this dismal economic picture, we add the costs of war in Iraq, and additional spending on post-war occupation and rebuilding the country to Washington's liking. Estimates of the cost of war in Iraq range anywhere from \$48 billion to \$1.6 trillion. The House Budget Committee estimated in September 2002 that the war would cost between \$48 and 93 billion and

last one or two months. They did not factor in peacekeeping and occupation, foreign assistance, humanitarian assistance or the impact war would have on trade or oil prices. Yale economist William Nordhouse did a more comprehensive assessment that factored in all those variables and his best-case scenario estimate is for a \$120 billion war; worst-case scenario is a \$1.6 trillion war.

To put these enormous numbers into some perspective and highlight the trade-offs Americans are being forced to make, I did an analysis for Brooklyn War Resisters League on the costs of war to people in New York City:

- One day of war in Iraq = The NYC Budget deficit for FY 2003 (\$1.1 billion)
- One day of war in Iraq = One year budget of NYC Child Services (\$1.3 billion a year)
- 8 hours of war in Iraq = One year budget of NYC Homeless Services (\$360 million)
- 14 hours of war in Iraq would close the MTA's budget gap and stave off price hikes and service cuts.

• 99 minutes of war in Iraq = One year budget for Brooklyn Public Libraries (2000 budget is \$76 million)

• 1 second of war in Iraq = NYC Education budget per child (\$9,736 per child per year)

Mark Twain, the great American writer and anti-imperialist, was famous for saying, "When all you have in your toolbox are hammers, all your problems look like nails." In the wake of the September 11 attacks, the United States needs to expand its foreign policy toolbox so that when crises arise, resorting to military force is the last option, not the first. Until then, we will continue to pay the costs. And more and more we do not pay just in dollars, tighter belts and emptier pockets. We pay in limited freedoms, we pay in hijacked democracy, we pay in fear of "blowback" for unjust U.S. foreign policy, and we pay in a less secure world.

Frida Berrigan is a Senior Research Associate at the Arms Trade Resource Center, a project of the World Policy Institute (www.worldpolicy.org/projects/arms).

Hussein: Made in the USA

banks, and private companies." At the time, future Vice President Al Gore said, "Bush is presiding over a cover up significantly worse than Watergate."

But Iraqgate is now all but forgotten in the wake of the Clinton-era scandals of Whitewater and Monica. The definitive account of Iraqgate, Alan Friedman's *Spider's Web: The Secret History of How the White House Illegally Armed Iraq*, is long out of print.

But the U.S. role in arming Iraq has recently resurfaced. In December, the White House boldly seized Iraq's 12,000-page weapons document in order to censor parts for the non-permanent Security Council states. Among the information deleted was a list of U.S. corporations, government agencies and laboratories that aided Iraq. The companies included Honeywell, Kodak, Bechtel, Dupont and Hewlett-Packard. Among the government agencies were the Departments of Defense, Energy, Commerce and Agriculture. And then there were government nuclear weapons laboratories Lawrence Livermore, Los Alamos and Sandia, which all offered training to Iraqi scientists. This information emerged only after a German news reporter obtained unedited portions of the Iraq documents.

U.S.-Iraqi relations extend back to June 1982 when President Reagan issued a National Security Decision Directive in the midst of the Iraq-Iran war. According to an affidavit by former National Security Council official Howard Teicher, from 1982 on the White House "supported the Iraqi war effort by supplying the Iraqis with billions of dollars of credits, by providing

U.S. military intelligence and advice to the Iraqis, and by closely monitoring third country arms sales to Iraq to make sure that Iraq had the military weaponry required." Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld twice, in 1983 and 1984, visited Baghdad to meet with Saddam Hussein. Teicher, who traveled to Baghdad with Rumsfeld, described the mission: "Here was the U.S. government coming hat-in-hands to Saddam Hussein and saying, 'We respect you, we respect you. How can we help you? Let us help you.'"

Rumsfeld's trips came at a time when the U.S. knew Iraq had already begun gassing Iranians.

In 1985, the U.S. Centers for Disease Control sent samples of an Israeli strain of West Nile virus to a microbiologist at Basra University in Iraq. The U.S. would also send over "various toxins and bacteria," including botulins and E. coli.

In 1986, Taicher would later recall, "President Reagan sent a secret message to Saddam Hussein telling him that Iraq should step up its air war and bombing of Iran. This message was delivered by Vice President Bush who communicated it to Egyptian President Mubarak, who in turn passed the message to Saddam Hussein."

And the U.S. continued throughout the 1980s in backing Hussein by providing military assistance and diplomatic cover for war crimes.

In 1984, the State Department arranged for the sale of 45 Bell 214ST helicopters to Iraq. Four years later *The Los Angeles Times* reported that "American-built helicopters" were used to gas Kurdish civilians. In March 1988

up to 6,800 Kurds were gassed to death in Halabja by Hussein's troops. In response the U.S. State Department attempted, according to a recent report in *The International Herald Tribune*, to place blame for the gassing also on the Iranians despite no evidence of Iranian involvement. When the UN Security Council passed a resolution to censure the Halabja attack it called on "both sides to refrain from the future use of chemical weapons."

In July 1990, days before Iraq invaded Kuwait, U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie met with Saddam Hussein and gave him what many believe to be a green light for invading Kuwait.

Speaking for President Bush, Glaspie said, "we have no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait." Hussein invaded Kuwait beginning a war that has yet to end. Leading the fight then Secretary of Defense was Dick Cheney.

While the Gulf War marked the end of U.S. support for Hussein, private U.S. corporations continued to quietly trade with Iraq through foreign subsidiaries. And among those who profited most was Cheney himself.

In 1995, Cheney took over as CEO of Halliburton, a Dallas-based oil-field supply corporation. According to *The Washington Post*, two Halliburton foreign subsidiaries sold more than \$73 million in oil production equipment and supplies to Iraq under Cheney's command. Cheney had helped Halliburton become the biggest U.S. oil contractor for Iraq.

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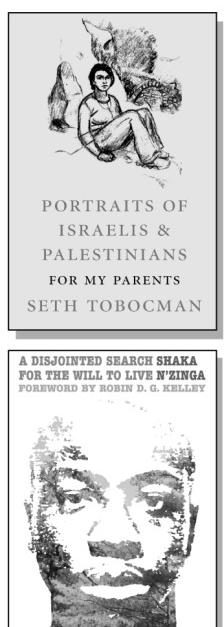
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WATCH OUT: Tens of thousands gathered at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, from January 23 to 28 to discuss alternatives to capitalism and globalization. PHOTO: INDYMEDIA BRAZIL

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Naomi Klein says *The Indypendent* "mixes the spirit of direct action with a searing critique of corporate power." Drawing upon the global network of Indymedia Centers, we let people speak for themselves — from the streets of Baghdad to the jungles of Colombia, the shantytowns of South Africa to the villages of East Timor. We look at those resisting the Pentagon and Wall Street reign of terror, from the fight at home for housing, quality education and civil liberties to the broader struggle against corporate globalization. Don't miss an issue—subscribe today!

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—Pres. Bush addressing the nation from Camp David

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UFP&J: 'Strengthen the anti-war movement in this country'

BY LESLIE CAGAN

United for Peace & Justice is a national campaign bringing together a broad range of organizations to help coordinate against a U.S. war on Iraq. At an initial meeting in Washington, DC, on October 25, 2002, more than 70 peace and justice organizations agreed to form United for Peace & Justice. Since then more than 200 additional groups around the country have joined our ranks.

There is no more pressing foreign policy issue than whether the United States will unleash its military might against the people of Iraq. By providing a vehicle for diverse constituencies to work together, we seek to

maximize our impact.

Decisions are made at meetings of the coordinating committee, which is open to representatives of all participating groups. A smaller administrative committee helps to make sure decisions are implemented. Committees are set up as needed to work on the projects and activities everyone agrees on.

Since last October, United for Peace & Justice has promoted several successful days of nationally coordinated local actions and endorsed the Jan. 18th demonstrations in Washington, DC, and San Francisco. UFP&J has been the lead organizer for the massive demonstrations in New York City on Feb. 15th and in San Francisco on Feb.

16th as part of the weekend of global protests against the Bush administration's plans for war.

We will continue to make our voices heard in mass demonstrations, in coordinated days of local protest, in lobbying campaigns and in ongoing educational and media work. United for Peace & Justice welcomes the participation of any and all national, regional and local groups who share our goal and who seek to strengthen the anti-war movement in this country.

Leslie Cagan is the coordinator for the February 15 rally against war in NYC. Visit UFP&J at www.unitedforpeace.org

**Stop the war and then what?
Activists reflect on the new peace movement**

BY A.K. GUPTA

"February 15 is going to be the single biggest day of protest in world history and it's being organized with incredible speed," says L.A. Kauffman a staff member for United for Peace & Justice, the main organizing force behind the day of demonstrations around the U.S. in opposition to an attack on Iraq.

"The theme of this march is 'The world says no to war' and the sense of global solidarity is greater than I've ever seen," Kauffman says. There are marches in over 500 cities around the world.

By all accounts, the mobilization is historic. "The peace movement has grown exponentially in a very short time," says Eric Laursen, a New York City-based activist and independent journalist. "A lot of the building blocks have been in place for an anti-war movement to grow... like labor coalitions against the war, organizations like the War Resisters League and a campus movement for global justice and against the war that's stayed vigorous since the 1960s."

Kauffman adds that, "While there was a noticeable reduction in grassroots organizing the first year after September 11, the networks and infrastructure built during the years of the global justice movement, from 1999 to 2001, were still in place... as anti-war activism began accelerating" last fall.

Barbara Epstein, a professor in the History of Consciousness program at UC Santa Cruz says activists from the global justice movement can provide a "radical edge to the growing anti-war movement. One of the questions for the movement is how to contain a radical edge while building a broader movement."

"The main strength of the anti-war movement is its breadth," says Epstein. "Anti-war sentiment seems to have taken off in certain sectors of the Protestant and Catholic churches. It's impressive how many mainstream churches have come out against the

war. I think the churches are horrified by the moral and legal implications of a war."

Another important element in the rapid growth of a broad-based anti-war movement is the role of people of color. "This mobilization looks to be substantially more racially diverse than either of the anti-war mobilizations of 1990-91 or large-scale peace movements in the past," says Kauffman. "People of color are overwhelmingly against this war. You see that very dramatically when you're out leafleting by who responds positively. And people of color are in the leadership [of the anti-war movement] from the get-go."

A difference between the current anti-war movement and the one against the Vietnam War in particular is that campus organizing is not yet a central element. "The draft in the 1960s organized the movement," Epstein says. "The campuses were hotbeds of activity between the demonstrations during the Vietnam War. The fact that there is no draft today poses a different type of challenge for anti-war organizers. Young people have always played a very strong role in social movements and we can't do without them."

While students are not organizing today on the level of the hundreds of campus strikes that occurred after the killing of students at Kent State and Jackson State in May 1970, Laursen cautions against concluding that students are not active. "Organizers on college campuses are often organizing off-campus with other groups. Just because you don't see demonstrations happening all the time on campuses doesn't mean students aren't involved."

The immediate goal, says organizers, "is trying to stop the war before it starts." However, Kauffman notes, "What the movement will do if the war begins is unclear."

Laursen suggests activists need to "develop a strategy for how to turn this movement into a long-term active resistance to American imperialism at home and abroad."

Over the last year, the anti-war movement has succeeded in turning out large numbers of people by focusing on conflicts in the public

eye. Last April, 100,000 people marched in Washington, D.C., in opposition to the furious Israeli assault then underway in the West Bank. Epstein says that while the issue is now the impending U.S. invasion of Iraq, next year the peace movement could be organizing against a U.S. assault on North Korea or Iran.

"The peace movement needs to address itself to the aim of world power rather than focusing on one specific instance and then the next," Epstein says. But she adds, "If you want to mobilize large numbers of people, it's specific instances that get them out in the street."

Another concern expressed by some observers is a repeat of the first Gulf War. One poll on the eve of the 1991 war found that less than half the American public supported the U.S.-led attack on Iraq; 55 percent were in opposition or on the sidelines. By the war's end, with a smashing U.S. victory and few body bags returning home, opposition dropped to a minuscule 9 percent in polls, the anti-war movement quickly dissipated, and the first President Bush basked in 90 percent approval ratings.

"This is a real danger," Epstein says. "My guess is that's what Bush is counting on. Bush is disregarding the very strong anti-war sentiment in the country. He thinks once he starts a war, the media will support him and public opinion will support him and that could happen."

"This time," says Laursen "a long-term occupation of Iraq will be harder for the public to ignore. This is just the first step in a very long-term project by the United States."

"What we need to be thinking ahead to as an anti-war movement is how we're going to broaden out to oppose this entire American imperial project," Laursen continues. "We're going to have to educate the public about the fact that a 10-year occupation of Iraq is, for example, going to rob our schools of money and increase the domination of oil companies and financial interests over our government."

**Bushes
Against
Bush**

The tactics of opposing war and injustice are familiar to even the most sedentary armchair leftist. Marches, rallies, protests, teach-ins and hunger strikes are just a handful of the immense arsenal the left has collected from Gandhi, King and others. For a new century and a new anti-war movement, however, there are new ways and means to oppose the war.

Going naked may sound like a Woodstock generation relic, but women around the world are using nudity as a powerful anti-war tactic. On Feb. 9, 750 Australian women disrobed and formed a heart, with the words "NO WAR" spelled out by bodies in the middle. Risking hypothermia, thirty bare women spelled out "NO BUSH" in Central Park, New York on snowy cold Feb. 7.

On the west coast, there is even a formal group for female nude actions, Unreasonable Women Baring Witness, who have spelled out anti-war slogans on fields and beaches.

The group, inspired by actions of Nigerian women who threatened Chevron with nudity if village conditions didn't improve, has a diverse range of women, including six women with PhDs, two Republicans and two former 60s activists.

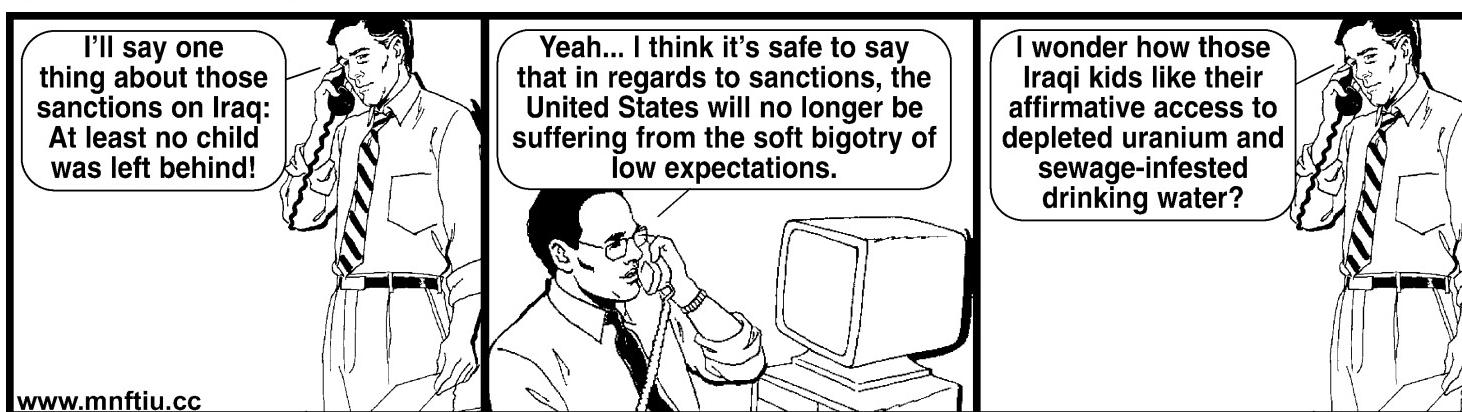
"It got your attention, didn't it?" said Donna Sheehan of Unreasonable Women.

In Australia, local comedian and action organizer, Mandy Nolan, dubbed female nude protest as "bush against Bush."

If protesting is no longer just for the clothed, it is also not just for the young and mobile. Nursing homes, not known for being hotbeds of political activity, are becoming fired up and anti-war. Residents of Mill Valley, California's Redwoods Retirement Center have staged curbside protests and formed their own anti-war group with 80 members. Although marching was out of the question, the group held up banners, many standing outside with canes, walkers and wheelchairs. Organizing the residents is 84-year-old Nora Boskoff.

Included among the residents protesting was an 87-year-old WWII veteran, Leonard Prossor. "Many of these people have experienced war," said Prossor to the Marin Independent Journal of the resident protesters. "I regret I was privy to killing people."

—Emily Reinhardt

GET YOUR WAR ON

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Over 500 cities are scheduled to protest against the American war in the Gulf. **FEBRUARY 15, 2003**

FEEDER MARCHES

- Colombia Block
- Staten Island Ferry
- War Resisters League
- NYC People of Color
- United NY Youth Bloc
- Support Palestine Feeder
- Green Party Feeder
- Washington Heights
- CUNY Student Marches
- Jersey City Feeder
- Bronx Action
- Multi-Faith March
- LIRR Peace Trains
- Peace Ride/Bike Bloc
- Educators Feeder
- GLAMericans March
- Free Signs Feeder
- Jewish Contingent
- Buddhist Contingent
- Bronx Feeder March
- Anti-Capitalist Bloc
- PeaceWilliamsburg March
- National Lawyers Guild
- New Jersey Peace Train
- Performing Arts March
- Grand Central Feeder
- Harlem Freedom Hall Feeder
- Mardi Gras Carnival Bloc
- Chicago Humanist Feeder
- Brooklyn Parents for Peace
- WBAI Listener Contingent
- Queer Anti-War Contingent
- Take Back the Future March
- Anarchist Red & Black Contingent
- Lower East Side Contingent
- Filipino American Contingent
- Northern Manhattan Coalition
- Teachers College Peace Rally
- Housing & Green Space Feeder
- Doctors, Nurses & HCW's March
- Interfaith Ministers for Peace
- Anti-Corporate Media March
- NW New Jersey Peace
- Gay & Lesbian Task Force
- NYC Labor Against the War
- Poets for Peace
- Garden State Peace Train
- Planet/EcoErotic Noise Brigade
- Unitarian Universalists for Peace

NYC JOINS THE WORLD

